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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 74/NO. 42 NOVEMBER 8, 2010

INSIDE

Communist workers movement versus Pan-Africanist socialism

—PAGES 4–5

Australia jury acquits couple for abortion

BY JOANNE KUNIANSKY

CAIRNS, Australia—Packed in a courtroom here, supporters of a woman's right to choose abortion burst into applause when Tegan Leach, 21, and her partner Sergie Brennan, 22, were acquitted October 14 for using an abortion pill to end Leach's pregnancy.

The couple, from this city of about 150,000 people in the state of Queensland on the northeast coast, did not want to go through a surgical abortion. They decided to use Misoprostol and RU486 at home.

They were charged under two archaic abortion-related provisions of Queensland's criminal code, established in 1899. Leach was charged with self-administering a noxious substance to induce an abortion, which carries a penalty of up to seven years in prison. Brennan was charged for his role in obtaining the drug. He faced a three-year sentence.

The drug RU486 was banned in

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Washington begins new offensive in Afghan war

BY DOUG NELSON

The U.S. military is reportedly dealing blows to the Taliban in Afghanistan's Kandahar Province as Washington continues to probe avenues for negotiating an eventual settlement. But after nine years, the imperialists' war continues to escalate and grind on unpredictably with no end in sight.

In several key areas surrounding Kandahar City the Taliban have ceded ground, with many either leaving for now or laying low. The U.S.-led offensive of some 12,000 U.S. and NATO troops and 7,000 Afghan soldiers and police has impaired the cohesion and supply routes of local Taliban forces, resulting in a decline in Taliban attacks.

The operation in Kandahar, the origin and heartland of the Taliban movement, is 18 months in the making. It is Washington's second major offensive since President Barack Obama's announced deployment of 30,000 additional U.S. troops last December. In February a U.S.

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British gov't announces deep austerity measures amid crisis

BY TONY HUNT

EDINBURGH, Scotland—Targeting the living standards of working people, the British government announced October 20 an £81 billion (US$128 billion) reduction in spending over the next four years. Under the austerity plan, various welfare programs in the country will take a major hit amounting to £18 billion.

Thousands from all parts of Scotland marched here October 23 in protest against the austerity plans. The Scottish Trades Union Congress, which organized the action, say there were 20,000 in attendance. It was the most significant union response to the government cuts to date, drawing together workers from many unions, particularly teachers, health-care workers, and others in the public sec-

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Militant/Jonathan Silberman

Demonstration in Edinburgh, Scotland, October 23 against British government austerity plan.

Vote Socialist Workers Party!

Militant/Eric Simpson

Gerardo Sánchez, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th District in California, campaigns at October 23 rally outside Oakland City Hall protesting cop killing of Oscar Grant.

Working people across the United States have a choice on Election Day, November 2—you can vote for the Socialist Workers Party. Socialist Workers candidates are running for federal, state, and local offices in 33

EDITORIAL

races in 11 states and the District of Columbia.

At a time when the capitalist economic crisis is battering working people worldwide; imperialist wars are expanding in Afghanistan and Pakistan; high levels of joblessness persist for years on end; safety violations on the job claim more lives and limbs; and health care is being restricted; candidates of the two capitalist parties—the Democrats and Republicans—offer little more than pronouncements about what they are against. Their program to deal with the disaster facing working people is one or another version of "throw out the incumbent" or "the other guy is worse."

The working class needs to break from the capitalists' two-party system and fight for a labor party to challenge the representatives of the dictatorship of capital, which is daily destroying the lives of millions. Voting for the Socialist Workers Party candidates is a step toward that perspective. It is a

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Need concerted effort to achieve 'Workers Power,' 'Militant' goals

BY SETH GALINSKY

The international campaign to sell 1,800 copies of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes and 2,100 subscriptions to the *Militant* by November 9 is in the final two-week stretch. As of October 27, 1,221 books and 1,411 subscriptions have been sold, putting the drive about 7 percent behind schedule. A concerted effort is needed to catch up and surpass the goals.

One highlight this week was participation in the Puerto Rican Studies Association conference in Hartford, Connecticut. Conference participants bought 23 copies of *Workers Power* and 21 subscriptions to the *Militant*.

At one workshop on "Future Voices of Puerto Rican Studies" a student on the panel encouraged voting for Democrats in the upcoming elections. "Obama is not perfect, but we have to stop the Republicans and tea party candidates," she said. Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, joined the discussion, explaining that the Demo-

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Bay Area unionists protest police brutality

BY BETSEY STONE

OAKLAND, California—"Every union member who has walked a picket line knows that police brutality is a labor issue," said Clarence Thomas, executive board member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10. He was speaking at an October 23 rally of more than 500 organized by the union local against police killings and brutality here.

In addition to ILWU members, the event drew workers from the Teamsters, American Federation of Teachers, Service Employees International Union, Sailors Union of the Pacific, Amalgamated Transit Union, and others. "This is the first rally like this I've ever been to," ironworker Dan Brandon told the *Militant.* "We have a contract coming up. This is important!"

In solidarity with the family of Oscar Grant, the 22-year-old who was killed by a transit cop at a BART station in Oakland on New Year's Day 2009, the ILWU closed down the port for the rally.

The sentencing of Johannes Mehserle, the cop who shot Grant, is scheduled for November 5. He was convicted of involuntary manslaughter in July. Earlier this month Mehserle's attorney filed a 134-page brief for a new trial.

"As I drive the train through Fruitvale Station there isn't a day that I don't think of Oscar Grant," said BART transit worker Harold Brown, one of many rally speakers. "This never should have happened, and it should not happen again."

Cephus Johnson, uncle of Grant, and several other speakers demanded that the judge use a state "gun enhancement law" to give Mehserle an extra 10 years jail time over the two to four years possible for involuntary manslaughter.

Gun enhancement laws add years to sentences in cases where a gun is used. They are opposed by many who understand these type of laws are used primarily against working people.

The jailing and conviction of Mehserle came in the wake of demonstrations and widespread outrage after videos of the killing, showing Grant was shot in the back while lying handcuffed on the station platform, appeared online.

Mehserle was the first cop to face a murder trial for a line-of-duty killing in nearly 15 years and the first cop to be convicted for shooting a Black man in Bay Area history.

Militant/Betsey Stone

Members of ILWU Local 10 at rally organized by union local to protest police killings and brutality in Oakland, California. ILWU members monitored rally and their drill team performed.

Two found guilty in beating death of immigrant

BY JOHN STUDER

PHILADELPHIA—On October 14 Derrick Donchak and Brandon Piekarsky were found guilty in federal court of the July 2008 killing of Luis Ramírez in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania.

Ramírez, a Mexican immigrant worker, was beaten to death by a group of white youth who targeted him because he was Latino. Donchak gripped a piece of metal called a "fist pack" while hitting Ramírez. After Ramírez was knocked to the ground, he was kicked in the head until he stopped moving. He died two days later.

This was the second trial of Donchak and Piekarsky. In May 2009 a state court acquitted the two of charges that included murder, aggravated assault, and ethnic intimidation. They were convicted on the lesser charge of simple assault, a decision that was met with protests by supporters of immigrant rights.

A federal grand jury indicted Donchak and Piekarsky in December 2009 on "hate crime" charges of violating Ramírez's civil rights, a charge that carries a potential life sentence.

Testimony in the eight-day trial showed that Donchak and Piekarsky were among those who stomped and killed Ramírez as they shouted racist epithets. "Tell your Mexican friends to get the f*** out of Shenandoah," they yelled at Ramírez's friends, "or you'll be laying next to him."

Federal prosecutors also presented evidence of the assailants' racist views—music with white supremacist lyrics they listened to, a T-shirt reading "Border Patrol" that one wore, other things they said—to make the government's "hate crime" charge. Such prosecutions reflect a growing trend to criminalize the political attitudes and motivations of the accused, an approach that taps into widespread revulsion of racist attacks and aims to promote the idea that the government acts as a force to curb racist, anti-Semitic, or xenophobic attitudes perpetuated by the capitalist system it defends.

Donchak's and Piekarsky's defense was to falsely portray the murder as a street fight gone wrong. "Alcohol, youth, testosterone" were the problem, argued James Swetz, Piekarsky's lawyer.

Court testimony showed that following the murder, the assailants were aided in their attempt to cover up the murder by a number of Shenandoah cops, including Matthew Nestor, former chief of police. The cops, who have since resigned, are scheduled to go on trial in the same federal court on January 10 for obstruction of justice.

"Justice has been done in this case," Agapito Lopez, a long-time fighter for immigrant rights in Hazleton and a member of the Pennsylvania State Advisory Commission on Latino Affairs, told the *Militant*. "It is important to set a precedent to help stop other attacks."

In an editorial, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* put the blame on the working class, saying, "Some struggling small towns seem to be stuck in an era of separate water fountains."

However, Shenandoah has been growing, as more Dominicans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans have moved there.

"It's not the people in the town," Fermin Bermejo, a Puerto Rican who has lived in Shenandoah for 18 years, said, explaining the reasons for the attack to the press. "It's the people who run the town."

Sentencing for Piekarsky and Donchak is set for January 24.

THE MILITANT

Miners' struggle for safety on job

The entombment of 33 miners in Chile for more than two months is a reminder that mining bosses worldwide would rather risk workers' lives than give up a chance to make a profit. Follow workers' struggles for safety on the job in the pages of the 'Militant.'

Chilean miners protest October 17, demanding back and severance pay after closing of San Esteban mine.

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London rally demands ‘Free the Cuban Five!’

BY ALEX XEZONAKIS

LONDON—Hundreds of people gathered outside the U.S. Embassy here October 19 to demand freedom for five Cuban revolutionaries imprisoned in the United States for more than 12 years. Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, and René González, known internationally as the Cuban Five, were arrested in 1998 while monitoring counterrevolutionary groups in Florida that have carried out violent attacks against the Cuban Revolution for decades, with Washington’s complicity.

Rally speakers included leaders of the public sector union Unison and the National Union of Teachers; Brendan Barber, general-secretary of the Trades Union Congress; Angela Smith, a member of the House of Lords and chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Cuba; Member of Parliament Michael Connarty; and former Labour Party politician Tony Benn. Cuban violinist Omar Puente performed a song written in tribute to the five.

Tony Woodley, joint general-secretary of the Unite union, brought greetings to the rally from Hernández, who he recently visited in prison. Woodley reported that Hernández was in high spirits and remained determined in spite of often brutal conditions behind bars.

In a message to the rally, Hernández said, “Once again the functionaries of that embassy will ignore your claim or will say that the five are in prison for the very serious crime of having committed espionage. Once again we can tell anybody, plain and simple: that is a lie.”

Hernández’s letter quoted the testimony of the current Director of National Intelligence for the Obama administration, Gen. James Clapper Jr. He was asked as a prosecution witness at the five’s trial, “Would you agree on saying that having access to public information is not an act of espionage?” “Yes,” Clapper answered. “Would you, with your experience in intelligence matters, describe Cuba as a military threat for the United States?” *Answer*: “Absolutely not. Cuba does not represent a threat.” “Did you find any evidence indicating that Gerardo Hernández was trying to obtain secret information?” *Answer*: “No, not that I remember.”

A representative from Amnesty International, Shane Enright, spoke at the protest. He said a report by the organization raises doubts about the “fairness and impartiality” of the five’s trial.

Irma González, daughter of René González, also addressed the rally, thanking protesters for turning out despite cold and wet weather. Two days earlier she was interviewed on BBC radio, a break in the media blackout on the case.

Mark Thomas

Hundreds protest outside U.S. Embassy in London October 19 demanding freedom for Cuban Five. Inset: Irma González, daughter of René González, speaking at rally.

In a message she relayed to the protest, René González noted, “Principles, justice and political honesty have nothing to do with the spirit of revenge that have guided, for too long, the policies of the United States towards Cuba. Only such vengeful spirit can explain the brutality of the punishment imposed on the five of us and our families. . . .

“Fortunately principles, justice and political honesty have a place in the hearts of many decent people, all over the world. They are represented here tonight, as well as all the people of the United Kingdom who, since the very beginning of our ordeal, gave us a show of massive support that makes us feel honored, overwhelmed, accompanied and committed.”

‘Workers Power’ and ‘Militant’ sales campaign

Continued from front page

crats and Republicans are two wings of the same capitalist party. Workers need a labor party, he said, that would fight for the interests of the working class. Two panelists and another workshop participant bought the *Workers Power* book and *Militant* subscriptions.

Amanda Ulman, SWP candidate for governor of Texas, pointed a coworker interested in the Cuban Revolution to sections of *Workers Power* that talk about what working people can learn from Cuba for the fight to take political power in the United States. She lent him the book overnight. The next day he bought the book and a *Militant* subscription saying, “It has a lot in it that I haven’t seen before.”

Socialist workers sold seven copies of *Workers Power* and 13 subscriptions to the *Militant* at Western Washington University in Bellingham, Washington, in just a few hours. “Three of the students who bought the literature are members of the Black Student Union on campus,” writes Edwin Fruit. “They invited us to come back and address the group in the future.”

Six taxi drivers in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, bought *Workers Power* and five subscriptions to the *Militant.*

Derek Jeffers reports a radio show in Paris, “Sign of unity,” hosted a discussion October 17 *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power.*

Jeffers and Jean-Louis Salfati, who help distribute Pathfinder titles in France, introduced the book. “Capitalism shows, day in and day out, that it offers no future for humanity,” Salfati said. He noted that studying the ideas of Malcolm X and the Black liberation struggle is necessary today for charting a course for workers, who face increasing attacks from employers and their government, to take political power in their own hands.

Listeners called in with numerous questions, including on the Cuban Revolution, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the organization Malcolm X began to build at the end of his life.

Since early September volunteers in Paris have sold 90 copies of *Workers Power*.

Readers of the *Militant* can help introduce workers, farmers, students, and young people to the *Workers Power* book and newspaper, both indispensable tools for understanding the crisis of capitalism and what can be done to defend the interests of the working class. See page 8 to contact the nearest distributor.

campaign to sell

‘Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power’ & ‘Militant’

Sept. 11–Nov. 9 (week 6)

	‘Workers Power’ books			‘Militant’ subscriptions		
Country	quota	sold	%	quota	sold	%
UNITED STATES						
Boston*	**50**	**48**	**96%**	70	49	70%
Miami*	**60**	**48**	**80%**	**70**	**60**	**86%**
Chicago	**130**	**98**	**75%**	130	91	70%
Atlanta	120	85	71%	**150**	**113**	**75%**
Philadelphia	65	46	71%	75	55	73%
New York	375	265	71%	**325**	**247**	**76%**
Des Moines	110	74	67%	125	86	69%
Washington	145	89	61%	**125**	**94**	**75%**
Seattle	130	75	58%	140	85	61%
San Francisco	130	67	52%	155	90	58%
Twin Cities	100	50	50%	135	69	51%
Houston	50	22	44%	50	36	72%
Los Angeles	135	57	42%	120	73	61%
Total U.S.	1600	1024	64%	1670	1148	69%
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	**90**	**80**	**89%**	**90**	**77**	**86%**
Edinburgh	25	17	68%	**35**	**27**	**77%**
Total U.K.	**115**	**97**	**84%**	**125**	**104**	**83%**
Canada	**62**	**47**	**76%**	70	50	71%
New Zealand	**25**	**21**	**84%**	**60**	**49**	**82%**
Australia	25	16	64%	55	40	73%
Sweden	18	16	89%	**22**	**20**	**91%**
Total	**1845**	**1221**	**68%**	**2002**	**1411**	**67%**
Should be	**1800**	**1350**	**75%**	**2100**	**1575**	**75%**

*** Raised both quotas**

Party-Building Fund gains

BY LAURA GARZA

Supporters of the effort to raise $98,000 to fund the Socialist Workers Party have gotten a boost from meetings in local areas and raises in pledges that now bring the total of local goals to almost $100,000.

Mary Martin from Seattle reports the October 16 fund meeting there featuring the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of California, Lea Sherman, drew 43 people. “Five people attended who we had met during street and campus campaign activity in recent weeks,” Martin wrote, “including an unemployed teacher who is Black and a recent law school graduate who can’t find work and is facing a load of school loan debt coming due.”

More than $500 in new pledges were made and over $3,000 was collected at the event.

One of the participants asked, “Why don’t socialists and other rights fighters get together on election campaigns?” “Our campaign is organized around a working-class program to defend workers’ interests,” Sherman said. “Whether a group or individuals call themselves ‘socialist’ or not, we look to what they stand for and do. We will join with others, and have done so in the past, to advance a perspective of the working class taking power.”

She pointed to examples given in the book *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* of workers who ran campaigns independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

From San Francisco Joel Britton reported that in the days before an October 23 event to benefit the party-building fund, pledges and contributions totaling more than $6,000 were received.

Frank Forrestal, a leader of the party from Minneapolis, spoke on “Why the working class needs a revolutionary party,” along with Sherman. The event drew 35 people.

Party-building fund
Sept. 11–Nov. 9

City	Quota	Paid	%
Houston	**$3,000**	**$2,250**	**75%**
Seattle	**$8,600**	**$6,416**	**75%**
Des Moines*	**$3,000**	**$2,130**	**71%**
Twin Cities*	**$7,500**	**$4,755**	**63%**
New York	$20,000	$12,429	62%
Washington*	$8,000	$4,864	61%
Atlanta	$7,800	$4,673	60%
Boston*	$3,800	$1,730	46%
Miami	$3,000	$1,175	39%
Chicago	$10,000	$3,810	38%
Los Angeles	$8,000	$3,052	38%
Philadelphia	$3,600	$1,215	34%
San Francisco	$13,500	$4,285	32%
Other		$600	
TOTAL	$99,800	$53,384	54%
Should be	**$98,000**	**$61,250**	**63%**

* Raised quota

Communist workers movement versus Pan-Africanist socialism, an exchange

Following is an exchange between Sobukwe Shukura and Steve Clark on issues raised in an article in the June 21 issue of the Militant.

Written by Clark, the article was titled, "Communist workers movement versus Pan-Africanist socialism." It addressed the divergent views expressed by Shukura and Clark at a panel discussion in Atlanta last May of the book Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power *by Jack Barnes. The event was hosted by the Auburn Avenue Research Library of African American Culture and History.*

The Militant *invited Shukura to reply to Clark's article. We also invited Clark to write a further reply for this week's paper. Both are included here so readers have the full exchange in the same issue.*

Militant/Maceo Dixon

May 27 event at Auburn Avenue Research Library of African American Culture and History in Atlanta discussed *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, by Jack Barnes. Speaking with microphone in hand is Sobukwe Shukura, a leader of All-African People's Revolutionary Party. To his right is Steve Clark, coeditor of book.

In defense of Pan-Africanism

BY SOBUKWE SHUKURA

In June there appeared in the *Militant* an article by Steve Clark on a book talk at the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History in Atlanta that featured the latest Malcolm X offering from Pathfinder Books, *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*. Steve Clark and myself had very different readings on the book. This article gives us revolutionary Pan-Africanists a second chance to publicly address questions raised at the library discussion and in the *Militant*.

Page 344 of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and The Road to Workers Power*, written by Jack Barnes and edited by Steve Clark, in the first full sentence says, "Malcolm was on the road to becoming a communist." He goes on to say on page 345, "Recognizing and embracing the world-class political leadership of revolutionists who are Black—whether an African American such as Malcolm X, or leaders such as Maurice Bishop and Thomas Sankara—doesn't lead militant workers and youth in the political direction of nationalism or Pan-Africanism."

These statements say volumes about first, Jack's arrogant dismissal of revolutionary Pan-Africanism, and second, his attempts to rewrite and appropriate the history of El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm X). We will deal with El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz first. Let's make it clear, he built two organizations when he left the Nation of Islam: The Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) and the Muslim Mosque, Inc. The OAAU was the political organization he formed, but Jack Barnes tells us on the bottom of page 357 that we should ignore the "Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives" from 1964 and the ''Basic Unity Program" of 1965.

Both documents call for unity between Africans in the West, and Africans in Africa. Even if we were to ignore Malcolm's own organizational documents, we have to listen to his speeches that call for not only unity among Africans in the U.S., but for Unity for Africans (Afro-Americans) in the Western Hemisphere. He states that what will advance African peoples' struggles in the U.S. "is the independence of Africa."

Malcolm X and communism

On the night we reviewed the book, what is not mentioned in the article is that I played a recording of El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm X) in his own words, a speech "You Can't Hate the Roots of a Tree." It emphasized the importance of African identity and other concepts of Pan-Africanism. He called Ghana the fountainhead of Pan-Africanism. Yet, nowhere does he call himself a communist. In fact, his last statement on communism, recorded in his final interview, was a negative one, placing it one step above Zionism. So if he were to evolve toward communism it would most probably have been through revolutionary Pan-Africanism.

Steve Clark, the editor of the book who penned the article in the June 21 *Militant*, again attacks Pan-Africanism. He first inaccurately accuses Mangaliso Sobukwe of creating the slogan "One Settler, One Bullet," a slogan used by some of the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa). Sobukwe died in 1978 and the slogan was coined in the '80s and was never an official slogan of the Party, no more than was the African National Congress's (ANC) slogan after the death of Chris Hani, "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer."

Mangaliso Sobukwe, who said "that there is one race, the human race," challenged the Freedom Charter promoted by the ANC, which said the land belongs to all who live there, negating the European minority settler/colonial occupation that took 80 percent of the land. In contrast, Mangaliso Sobukwe upheld that The

Continued on page 5

Response to Sobukwe Shukura

BY STEVE CLARK

What is remarkable about Sobukwe Shukura's article on *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes is that it contains not a single word about the responsibility—and ultimate test!—of revolutionists living, working, and practicing politics in the United States.

There's not a word, *not one*, about building a revolutionary organization capable of leading the working class—of all skin colors, sexes, and national origins—to conquer state power from the exploiters and oppressors in the United States.

In contrast, Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in his introduction to *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, points out that the book is "about the last century and a half of class struggle in the United State . . . and the unimpeachable evidence it offers that workers who are Black will comprise a disproportionately weighty part of the ranks and leadership of the mass social movement that will make a proletarian revolution."

It is a book, Barnes says, about why that new state power "provides working people the mightiest weapon possible to wage the ongoing battle to end Black oppression and every form of exploitation and human degradation" brought over from the imperialist epoch.

It's important to note the inaccuracy of Shukura's statement that *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* is "the latest Malcolm X offering from Pathfinder Books." That's false. Yes, Pathfinder is the only publisher that *does* keep Malcolm's speeches and writings in print and distributes them—in English, as well as a growing number in Spanish, Farsi, and soon French.

But the title we're discussing, like many published by Pathfinder, is a book by a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and communist movement. And it doesn't pretend to be otherwise.

Shukura scolds Barnes for alleged "attempts to rewrite and appropriate the history" of Malcolm X. In response to this falsification of the character of the book, I'd urge readers to get a copy and judge for themselves.

"Since the day Malcolm was killed in February 1965, nobody can prove where he would have gone next politically," Barnes says. But SWP leaders were "convinced by Malcolm's course"—by Malcolm's *political* course—"that he was moving toward becoming a communist."

What led them to that conclusion? "Politically [Malcolm] was converging with the Cuban Revolution," Barnes writes, "with the popular revolutionary government in Algeria led by Ahmed Ben Bella (and with the course of the SWP), that is, with the historic line of march of the working class toward power worldwide."

Pan-African socialism

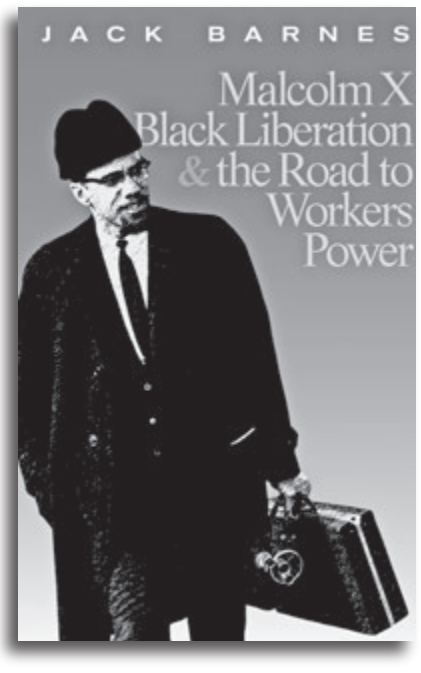
Shukura's second objection is Barnes's supposed "arrogant dismissal of revolutionary Pan-Africanism." In Shukura's view, *any* rejection by a communist of Pan-Africanism as a road forward is "arrogant."

In looking at the world that shaped Malcolm as a revolutionary leader,

Continued on page 5

Special offer

Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power *by Jack Barnes*



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Reply to Sobukwe Shukura

Continued from page 3

Shukura, unlike Barnes, doesn't begin with the victorious *revolutions* of those years. The Cuban and Algerian revolutions not only overturned murderous capitalist regimes but destroyed the old bourgeois state structures and replaced them with workers and farmers governments. Malcolm saw those revolutions as examples of what the exploited and oppressed need to do here in the United States.

Shukura complains that Barnes "minimizes the contributions" of three Pan-Africanist political leaders of the time: Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, and Mangaliso Sobukwe. Shukura goes so far as to call Barnes's views of these figures "counterrevolutionary." (Smearing those you disagree with in working-class and national liberation struggles as "counterrevolutionary" may be a practice Shukura picked up from Nkrumah and Touré. Be that as it may, their teacher was Joseph Stalin and the Stalinist movement—which has dealt as harsh blows to revolutionary and popular struggles in Africa as it has everywhere else in the world.)

Pan-Africanism, Shukura says, "is Africa's contribution toward communism." But the examples he gives represent a political course *distinct from* and *counterposed to* proletarian internationalism and communism, not a contribution that enhances it.

Shukura seeks to assure us that Mangaliso Sobukwe, founding leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa, said "there is one race, the human race." More important politically, however, Mangaliso Sobukwe opposed the slogan central to the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress (ANC) that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." In early 1959 he split from the ANC over that course.

Addressing the PAC's founding congress, he designated as "foreign minority groups" not only all those of European origin but also those of Indian origin—whose forebears had been forcibly transported to South Africa as indentured laborers.

The struggle in South Africa, Sobukwe said, must be organized by "an All-African organization" with no interference from "minorities who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for Africans."

As for Nkrumah and Touré, there's no mystery as to the standing they once had among working people across Africa and elsewhere. In face of the brutality of London and Paris, they were central leaders of struggles resulting in the first independent nations in sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana in 1957 and Guinea the next year. They championed anticolonial struggles across the continent and gave them concrete aid.

But the Nkrumah regime was not based on advancing the interests of peasants and workers. To the contrary, its state apparatus and armed forces acted on behalf of rising bourgeois and petty-bourgeois layers in Ghana. By the mid-1960s his increasingly repressive and cultish regime was so alien to the toilers that there was virtually no popular resistance to a reactionary 1966 coup by top army brass and privileged families, aided and abetted by Washington and London.

Sékou Touré's regime, too, was dominated by middle-class and professional layers and emerging rural and merchant capitalists. At his death in 1984 Touré was aligned with reactionary neocolonial regimes in Morocco and Saudi Arabia, as well as with Paris and Washington.

Sankara: a different direction

Thomas Sankara, the leader of the popular revolutionary government in Burkina Faso in West Africa from 1983 to 1987, described the class trajectory of such radical-talking neocolonial regimes in a March 1985 interview with the New York–based socialist magazine *Intercontinental Press*. It is reprinted in *Thomas Sankara Speaks*.

Burkina Faso revolutionary Thomas Sankara greets Fidel Castro during 1984 visit to Cuba. "We wish to be the heirs of all the revolutions of the world, and of all the liberation struggles of the Third World," Sankara said at the United Nations that year. "We draw the lessons of the American revolution. . . . The French revolution of 1789. . . . The great October revolution of 1917."

"[I]n certain African countries," he said, "these people talk of revolution, revolution, revolution. But they have gold chains and fine ties. They are always in France buying expensive clothes and big cars. . . . They give big salaries to the military, government ministers, and the praetorian guard." Referring to nearby Guinea, Sankara pointed to "the situation under Sékou Touré, who talked about revolution" but never carried one out.

It was Sankara's determination to pursue an opposite course—one based on peasants, artisans, and the small working class—that earned him the hatred not only of Paris and Washington, but of exploiters in Burkina and bourgeois regimes in the Ivory Coast, Liberia, and elsewhere. They not only welcomed, but many were involved in, the 1987 military coup that resulted in Sankara's murder and destruction of the popular government he had led.

When Sankara explained the roots and continuity of the political course he fought for in Burkina, he didn't point to Pan-Africanism. "We wish to be the heirs of all the revolutions of the world and of all the liberation struggles of the peoples of the Third World," he said in an October 1984 address to the UN General Assembly.

"We draw the lessons of the American revolution. . . . The French revolution of 1789. . . . The great October [Russian] revolution of 1917 transformed the world, brought victory to the proletariat, shook the foundations of capitalism, and made possible the realization of the Paris Commune's dreams of justice."

What about Shukura's claim that it is "criminal neglect" not to view the political contributions of Maurice Bishop "in the context of revolutionary Pan-Africanism"? Bishop was the central leader of the 1979–83 workers and farmers government in the Caribbean island of Grenada

All one needs to do is read what the Grenadan revolutionary leader himself had to say, easily found in another Pathfinder title, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. In a 1977 interview, published in Cuba's *Bohemia* magazine two years before the Grenada revolu-

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In defense of revolutionary Pan-Africanism

Continued from page 3

Land Belongs to the African People. Malcolm would support this. It's Malcolm who informed us that the basis of revolution is land. Today after 14 years of freedom-charter politics, 93 percent of the farmland still belongs to the European Settlers.

Two facts were misquoted by the editor of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* in the public discussion, and were repeated in the article. The notion was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sékou Touré of Guinea-Conakry were men who simply led their national liberation struggles. Clark implies that they had no class analysis and had not worked with the working class.

First off, Sékou Touré, a self-taught working-class clerk, was a union leader who helped organize national strikes and helped merge the labor movement with the revolutionary party. He led the party through several congresses and led the country toward a socialist road to development. He wrote volumes—including works like *Africa on the Move*, *Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution*, and *United States of Africa*, works on dialects, etc., but most importantly on revolutionary Pan-Africanism.

Sékou Touré supported a unified socialist Africa, which we know no socialist or communist could be against because that would sound like racism—unity is good for the Soviets, but not good for Africa, hmmm. Guinea-Conakry gave bases to Amilcar Cabral and PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), and many other forces in Africa.

And Kwame Nkrumah began by saying that the independence of Africa was meaningless without the liberation and Unity of Africa. He gave assistance to Algeria, Guinea, Mali, etc. He wrote the line on revolutionary Pan-Africanism, including books like *Class Struggle in Africa*, *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, *Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, *Challenge of the Congo*, and *Dark Days in Ghana*.

In *Class Struggle in Africa* Nkrumah wrote:

> The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an All-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black Revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress towards world communism, under which every society is ordered on the principle of—from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

In Jack Barnes's book, El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm X), who never says he's a communist, is being portrayed as a communist. In Steve Clark's *Militant* article, Kwame Nkrumah, who says he is a communist, is portrayed as simply a nationalist. To minimize the contributions of Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, and Mangaliso Sobukwe is counterrevolutionary. To talk about Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, and Ben Bella, and to not see their contributions in the context of revolutionary Pan-Africanism is criminal neglect. Revolutionary Pan-Africanism is Africa's contribution toward communism.

As Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) was fond of saying: Karl Marx did not invent communism, no more than Newton invented gravity.

For further reading

Maurice Bishop Speaks
The Grenada Revolution and Its Overthrow, 1979–83

The triumph of the 1979 revolution in the Caribbean island of Grenada had "importance for all struggles around the world," said Maurice Bishop, its central leader. Invaluable lessons from that workers and farmers government, overturned in a Stalinist-led coup, can be found in this collection.

Thomas Sankara Speaks
The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983–87

Under Sankara's leadership, the revolutionary government of Burkina Faso in West Africa set an electrifying example. Peasants, workers, women, and youth mobilized to carry out literacy and immunization drives; to sink wells, plant trees, build dams, erect housing; to combat the oppression of women and transform exploitative relations on the land; to free themselves from the imperialist yoke and solidarize with others engaged in that fight internationally.

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Socialist candidates offer revolutionary,

Georgia socialists debate twin capitalist parties

ROME, Georgia—Unemployment, jobs, taxes, education, and the deepening capitalist economic crisis were at the center of a candidates' debate October 21 sponsored by the NAACP chapter here. The local tea party cancelled its own campaign event so that its supporters could participate in the debate. More than 150 people turned out to hear candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties and the Socialist Workers Party.

The socialist candidates were invited to the forum after meeting Rome NAACP president Victor Hixon on a bus to the October 2 march on Washington for jobs, justice, and education.

"We call for a federal public works program to provide jobs at union scale for everyone who is unemployed, building schools, quality housing, hospitals, and roads," said Rachele Fruit, SWP candidate for agriculture commissioner. "We are for unity of the working class and for an end to deportations of immigrant workers."

In contrast, Katie Dempsey, Republican candidate for state representative, proposed to crack down on "illegal" immigration.

"The working class needs to lead a fight to take political power out of the hands of the capitalist class so we can reorganize society in the interests of the vast majority, revolutionizing social relations from top to bottom," said Lisa Potash, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, "Along that road, we need to form an independent party of labor, separate from the twin capitalist parties and based on a fighting union movement."

She received applause from many of the NAACP members in the audience when she called for the immediate release of Troy Davis, who is Black and has been on death row for 19 years on frame-up charges he killed a white cop.

—Sam Manuel

David Rosenfeld, SWP candidate for Iowa governor, participating in candidates' debate on WHO radio station October 26.

Militant/A

Eleanor García, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from California's 33rd D at rally to open files on Rubén Salazar, Chicano activist killed by police in

Solidarity with locked-out unionists in Keokuk, Iowa

KEOKUK, Iowa—Illinois Socialist Workers candidates Laura Anderson, running for U.S. Congress in the 1st District, and Alyson Kennedy, running for U.S. Senate, visited the picket lines here October 24 set up by union members locked out of their jobs by Roquette America, a producer of starch products.

Three locked-out workers bought subscriptions to the *Militant* at the picket line after they saw the coverage on the strikes in France against raising the age of retirement and the paper's support for the Keokuk fight. Some 240 members of Bakery, Confectionary, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union Local 48G are locked out of their jobs after rejecting a union-gutting contract proposal.

The workers told the socialist candidates that solidarity continues to grow with their battle. Some local restaurants refuse to deliver food ordered by the company.

—Alyson Kennedy and Ellen Brickley

S.F. socialist speaks out on transit cuts, backs drivers

SAN FRANCISCO—In an October 10 article headlined, "AC Transit customers soon to be waiting longer and moving less frequently than normal," the *San Francisco Examiner* noted that the SWP candidate for governor, Lea Sherman, has been outspoken in opposing layoffs of bus drivers and reductions in service.

Sherman attended a September hearing on transit cuts and "said her campaign was present to show solidarity with the Transit workers and their union, noting that the capitalist system worldwide was in crisis and that government workers and unions, healthcare and education were paying for it," the *Examiner* wrote.

—Eric Simpson

Socialist: Imperialist wars linked to oppression at home

LOS ANGELES—Eleanor García, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 33rd District, has been calling here for opening the files on the killing of Chicano activist Rubén Salazar on Aug. 29, 1970. In the course of a police attack on a demonstration of 20,000 that day, organized by the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War, a sheriff's deputy fired the tear gas grenade that killed Salazar, a journalist who was covering the action.

Noting that the socialist campaign calls for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq, García said, "The U.S. government is no more 'bringing democracy' to the toilers of the Middle East and Central Asia today than it was defending democracy by its war against the people of Vietnam 40 years ago."

"The U.S. rulers feared the Chicano Moratorium because it linked the imperialist war in Vietnam to the racist conditions that Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities confront in the United States. That link is all the greater today, as the wealthy corporations wage war on the working conditions and livelihoods of all working people, and especially Blacks and Latinos."

—Arlene Rubinstein

Candidate defends immigrant rights, calls for class unity

BOSTON—Kevin Dwire, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Massachusetts, addressed a meeting here opposing the "Secure Communities Program" being conducted by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). The October 24 meeting was organized by Central Presente, a local immigrant rights organization.

"Secure Communities" requires local law enforcement agencies to cross-check digital fingerprints of anyone they arrest against a federal database. If ICE decides the arrested person is undocumented, that person is detained and processed for deportation.

Dwire, a production worker and long-time union activist, explained, "The bosses use the threat of deportation to stop workers who don't have the 'proper' papers from speaking up and fighting for their rights. That weakens all working people in the fight to build and strengthen unions."

—Ted Leonard

Defending struggle of Miami taxi drivers for livelihood

MIAMI—Some 100 taxi drivers and their supporters demonstrated at a public hearing here October 12 to protest two proposed ordinances they say would increase drivers' costs and fees. One proposed ordinance obligates driv-

Militant/Helen Meyers

Rebecca Williamson, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Iowa's 3rd District, campaigns at September 11 festival at Evelyn Davis Park in Des Moines, Iowa.

For further reading

Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?
by Mary-Alice Waters
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Cuba and the Coming American Revolution
by Jack Barnes
$10

The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning
by Jack Barnes
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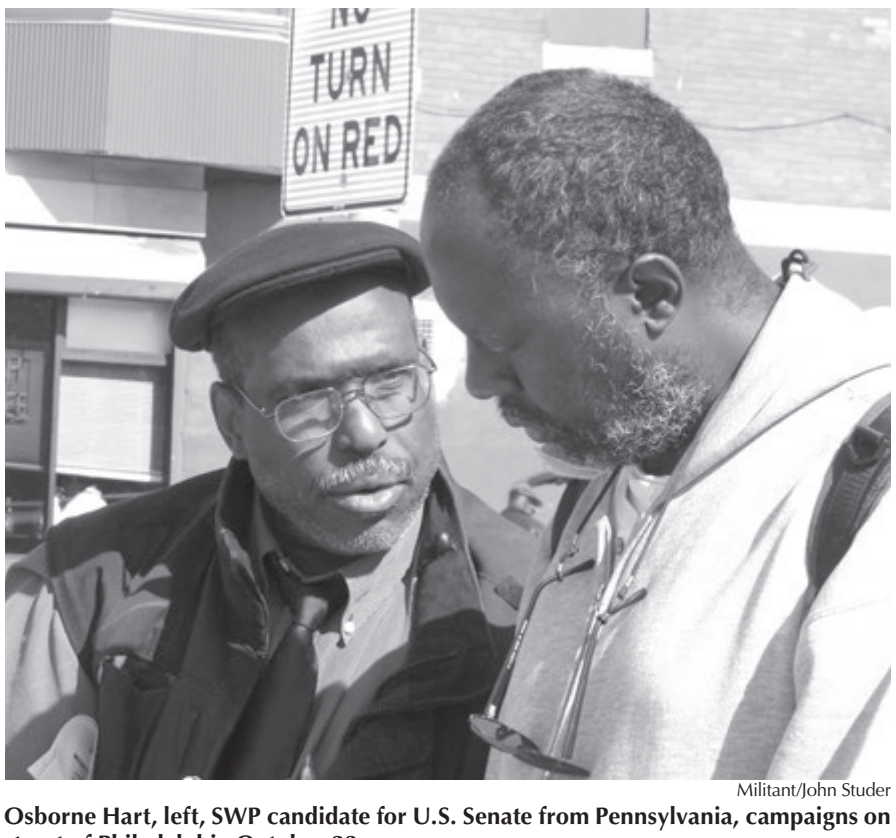
Arlene Rubinstein



Militant/John Studer

District, right, n 1970.

Osborne Hart, left, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania, campaigns on street of Philadelphia October 23.

ers to obtain "technological enhancements," including credit card machines, GPS (global positioning systems), prepaid toll passes, and cameras.

Deborah Liatos, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Florida, was among those addressing the commission meeting opposing the ordinances. "I support the taxi drivers' fight against an increase in their costs," she said. "My campaign calls for guaranteed jobs at union-scale wages for all taxi drivers."

The drivers are organized by the New Vision Taxi Drivers Association of Miami, Inc., which has about 900 members. The group's president, Raymond François, said it would cost drivers around $4,000 to add this technology to their vehicles and would raise the lease fee for those who rent their car.

—Rollande Girard

Cuban Revolution provides example for workers worldwide

NEW YORK—A young socialist club at the State University of New York at New Paltz has sponsored weekly SWP campaign tables where freshman Harry D'Agostino, who is the SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of New York, and fellow campaigners introduce students to the socialist program.

Róger Calero, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 15th District, and Ruth Robinett, the party's candidate for U.S. Senate, spoke October 21 to two classes at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, where there was a lively discussion among the students, most of whom are Black or Latino.

Robinett pointed to the Cuban Revolution as an example of how working people can make a revolution to overturn capitalist rule. "The workers in Cuba have used state power to overcome illiteracy, provide access for all to medical care and education, and uproot inequalities based on race and sex," she said. "We can do this here, too."

—Ruth Robinett

SWP candidates in D.C. back fight of Black farmers

WASHINGTON—"On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I want extend our solidarity to Black farmers who are fighting to keep their land, " said Glova Scott, candidate for delegate to the U.S. House from the District of Columbia. She was speaking to farmers and others at the first Black Farm Aid benefit and rally, held October 23 in Tillery, North Carolina. More than 100 farmers and supporters participated in the benefit sponsored by the Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association and Concerned Citizens of Tillery.

Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor in Washington, D.C., recently spoke on a panel at an Urban Studies class at Coppin State University, a historically Black college in Baltimore. "Where do you see leadership coming from?" he was asked.

"The sky-high unemployment among Black workers, the lack of decent schools and housing, the scourge of drugs and substandard medical care are all caused by capitalism," replied Musa. "All that will change when working people of all backgrounds and races organize ourselves to make a revolution to take power from the capitalist rulers."

—Susan LaMont

Philadelphia socialist: Cops used to intimidate workers

PHILDELPHIA—"The charges against Askia Sabur must be thrown out and the cops who brutalized him prosecuted, convicted, and jailed," Osborne Hart, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania, told working people as he campaigned October 22 in a crowded shopping area in west Philadelphia.

Sabur was standing outside a restaurant when he was accosted by two cops and badly beaten. He was then charged with assaulting the cops and jailed. The attack was videotaped and posted on YouTube for thousands to see.

"The Philadelphia cops have a long history of brutality against Blacks and other working people," Hart said. "The function of the cops is to intimidate and harass working people, to attempt to convince us not to struggle against class exploitation or challenge the dictatorship of capital."

—John Studer

Houston: Socialist joins fight for women's right to abortion

HOUSTON—Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 18th District, participated in a spirited picket line of 30 people here October 23 in defense of women's right to choose abortion. The action was called by University of Houston Student Feminist Organization as a counterprotest to an antiabortion rally at a church across the highway from the Houston Planned Parenthood clinic.

Interviewed at the picket line by Univision Channel 45, Warshell said, "We're here to defend a woman's right to choose abortion. This is part of the increasing attacks on workers' rights by the bosses and their government—both Democrat and Republican—as the capitalist economic crisis drags on."

—Jacquie Henderson

Attacks on public education hit working class, target unions

MINNEAPOLIS—The Socialist Workers candidate for Minnesota governor, Diana Newberry, participated in a picket line October 26 outside the school board offices here to protest plans to close North High School.

In the past five years, seven out of the 12 public schools in North Minneapolis, the largest predominantly Black community in the Twin Cities area, have been closed.

"The proposed closing of North High is part of the continued assault on public education by the bosses and their government," said Newberry. "It is also part of broader attacks on workers in a predominantly Black community hit hard by the economic crisis. These moves, in the name of a budget crisis, are being used to deepen inroads against the teachers' unions and slash the social wage of working people."

—Tom Fiske

No other candidates stand up for workers against cops

SEATTLE—"No other candidates are saying anything about this issue," remarked a candy factory worker here upon reading the SWP platform, which includes the demand, "Jail and prosecute the cops who brutalize and kill working people."

"Without something being done they'll keep shooting us down," a striking Teamster at the Coca-Cola plant in Bellevue, Washington, told John Naubert, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Washington, and Mary Martin, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 7th District, who visited the picket line in early September.

In late August and early September, cops in the Seattle and Tacoma area shot six people, killing five in one week. The most well known of those killed was John Williams, a Native American wood carver.

—Mary Martin

Militant/Jacquie Henderson

Steve Warshell, SWP candidate for Congress from Texas, 18th District, left, joins picket in Houston October 23 to defend women's right to choose abortion.

SWP candidates in 2010

California
Lea Sherman, Governor**
James Harris, U.S. Senate**
Gerardo Sánchez, U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.
Eleanor Garcia, U.S. Congress, 33rd C.D.

Georgia
Jacob Perasso, Governor
Lisa Potash, U.S. Senate
Rachele Fruit, Commissioner of Agriculture

Florida
Deborah Liatos, U.S. Senate
Ernest Mailhot, Miami Commissioner Dist. 5*

Illinois
John Hawkins, Governor
Alyson Kennedy, U.S. Senate
Laura Anderson, U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.

Iowa
David Rosenfeld, Governor*
Helen Meyers, Lt. Governor*
Maggie Trowe, U.S. Senate**
Rebecca Williamson, U.S. Congress, 3rd C.D.*

Massachusetts
Kevin Dwire, Governor
Laura Garza, U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.

Minnesota
Diana Newberry, Governor**
Anthony Lane, U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.

New York
Dan Fein, Governor
Harry D'Agostino, Lt. Governor
Ruth Robinett, U.S. Senate
Willie Cotton, U.S. Senate
Róger Calero, U.S. Congress, 15th C.D.*

Pennsylvania
Osborne Hart, U.S. Senate

Texas
Amanda Ulman, Governor
Steve Warshell, U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.

Washington
John Naubert, U.S. Senate
Mary Martin, U.S. Congress, 7th C.D.

Washington, D.C.
Omari Musa, Mayor*
Glova Scott, Delegate to U.S. House of Rep.
Paul Pederson, Chair of City Council

**On ballot **Official write-in*

UN condemns embargo of Cuba for 19th time

BY SETH GALINSKY

UNITED NATIONS—The UN General Assembly voted almost unanimously October 26 to condemn the U.S. economic, financial, and trade embargo on Cuba. This is the 19th year in a row the body has called on Washington to end the embargo.

This year only the Israeli representative voted with the U.S. government. Delegates from three countries including Palau, which voted with Washington last year, abstained. There were 187 votes for the resolution.

"It is obvious that the United States has no intention whatsoever to lift the blockade," noted Bruno Rodríguez, Cuba's foreign minister, in his speech to the assembly. "There is not even a sign showing that its government is willing to dismantle the most irrational aspects of what is already the most comprehensive and long-lasting set of sanctions and coercive measures ever applied against any country."

Rodríguez pointed to a tightening of the embargo on financial transactions since Barack Obama was elected U.S. president. In May 2009 the U.S. Treasury Department blocked a bank transfer of $147,000 belonging to Cuba's airline.

Recently the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT) informed Cuba that it would not be able to access its international banking network after March 31, 2012, because a new computer program contains U.S. technology. SWIFT is the main system for interbank transactions in the world.

Rodríguez documented Washington's continual blocking of the sale of medical technology and medicines to Cuba.

"Although Washington has very selectively authorized some cultural, academic, and scientific exchanges," Rodríguez noted, "these are still subject to severe restrictions" and many could not take place because of denials of visas and other licenses.

Ronald Godard, representing the U.S. delegation, said that instead of calling to end the embargo, the UN should "focus its energies on supporting the Cuban people in their quest to freely decide their own future." He cynically claimed that the "United States holds no restriction on humanitarian aid to Cuba," pointing to gift parcels sent by Cuban Americans to family on the island.

Rodríguez said that Washington has no right "to meddle in or judge" what takes place in Cuba.

UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe

Delegates to United Nations line up October 26 to congratulate Cuban foreign minister Bruno Rodríguez (far right) after General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for resolution condemning U.S. embargo against Cuba. Only Washington and Tel Aviv voted against.

Exchange on communism and Pan-Africanism

Continued from page 5

tion, Bishop explained that the initial political inspiration for his organization, the New Jewel Movement, came from "the ideas of 'Black Power' that developed in the United States and the freedom struggle of the African people in such places as Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau."

But it was the example of the Cuban Revolution, Bishop said, that "has been teaching us, on the practical level of day-to-day political struggle, the relevance of socialism as the only solution to our problems." That's when "our party began to develop along Marxist lines," Bishop said.

And in an interview with Bishop I conducted along with two other SWP members in July 1980, run in full in the *Militant*, the Grenadan revolutionary leader called on working people in the United States of all skin colors to "get together and wage a consistent fight against the real enemy. Don't spend time fighting each other."

How Bishop's political course can be shoe-horned into "the context of revolutionary Pan-Africanism" is, to say the least, difficult to discern.

In *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, Barnes notes that overcoming "national divisions in the working class—through mutual solidarity and uncompromising struggles using any means necessary—remains the single biggest task in forging the proletarian vanguard in this country."

Revolution in the United States

Yet on this decisive question for the working class and oppressed in the United States, including many millions of workers who are Black, Shukura has *nothing* to say.

Instead, he ends by quoting Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael), former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the 1960s and a founder of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party of which Shukura is a longtime leader.

According to Shukura, Kwame Ture "was fond of saying: Karl Marx did not invent communism, no more than Newton invented gravity." Fortunately for humanity, however, Newton did *discover* some fundamental laws of nature, just as Marx *discovered* fundamental laws of the class struggle, capitalist social relations, and the line of march of the proletariat, which is toward the conquest of political power.

But that's not the main reason Kwame Ture missed the point.

In his talk at Karl Marx's gravesite in 1883, Frederick Engels, Marx's closest comrade and collaborator, noted, "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history," as well as "the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production."

"Such was the man of science," Engels said. "But this was not even half the man"—*not even half*.

"For Marx was above all else a revolutionist," Engels said. "His real mission in life was to contribute . . . to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat. . . .

"Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success few could rival."

Since the founding in late 1847 of the Communist League and its adoption of the Communist Manifesto, that has been the measure of a proletarian revolutionist. And that is what *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* makes a contribution toward realizing.

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EDITORIAL

Vote Socialist Workers Party!

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way of voting for what you are for, not what you are against.

The socialist candidates put forward immediate demands to protect working people from a capitalist crisis that is only just beginning. They project a real jobs program—organizing and fighting politically to demand a massive public works program to build schools, hospitals, and affordable housing and to rebuild deteriorating infrastructure; raising the minimum wage to union scale; providing unemployment payments until workers can find a job; and workers control of safety on the job. This is a program to help unify working people as we compete for the few available jobs that can provide for a decent living.

The socialist candidates have used their campaigns over the past months to raise a working-class voice in the electoral arena. They have used their campaigns to stand with union members on the picket lines, support farmers fighting for their land, march with immigrant workers for legalization of all who are undocumented, defend the rights of women to abortion, and rally against racist discrimination and cop violence. They have used their campaigns to win support for the imprisoned Cuban Five, and to defend revolutionary socialist Cuba from Washington's unrelenting attacks. The socialist candidates have spoken out against the government's attempts to restrict democratic rights and narrow political space for workers to organize.

Socialist candidates have also pointed out to fellow workers that any gains won in struggle today cannot alter the fundamental laws of the capitalist profit system. Only the conquest and exercise of state power by the working class and the expropriation of the wealthy minority can lay the basis for a world based on solidarity among working people, instead of class exploitation, war, and race and sex discrimination. With state power, working people will have the most powerful tool possible to uproot those conditions, to provide productive labor for all, and reorganize all of society in the interests of workers and farmers.

On November 2 make your vote count. Vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, the working-class alternative to imperialist war, economic depression, and racist discrimination.

After the elections socialist workers will continue to be in the streets joining the battles for workers rights. Join with us to fight for the only realistic program that can end capitalist rule and open the road to a socialist world.

British gov't announces austerity plan

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tor. A large number of students also participated and many were taking part in their first demonstration.

Cuts outlined by finance minister George Osborne include: an increase in the retirement age to 66 to be implemented over the next decade; 490,000 government workers thrown out of work by 2015; a slashing by half of the affordable housing program; and a near 30 percent reduction in grants to local governments with its consequent affect on services to working people. Workers and farmers will also be hit by the cuts in block grants to the devolved governments in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland of roughly 7 percent each.

The *Financial Times* said the proposals represented "the most drastic budget cuts in living memory." The big-business daily described the measures as going further than any other austerity plans being implemented in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries.

Prime Minister David Cameron and his deputy Nicholas Clegg appeared at a televised public meeting October 21 to defend "the fairness" of the cuts, claiming wealthy layers would be the most affected. Bolstering this claim are plans to end child benefit payments to higher income earners and a levy on the banks.

An opinion piece in the *Times,* a faithful mouthpiece for the ruling rich, however, pointed out that "for all the rhetoric about fairness and the vulnerable, these changes may prove very painful for the poor."

Osborne projected an average 19 percent reduction in the spending of government departments, including a 16 percent reduction in police funding. In addition, the Ministry of Defence announced October 19 a striking 8 percent reduction in the military budget—signaling the British rulers' acceptance of a continuing decline in their strategic influence abroad.

While health spending is "protected," for now, health care and jobs are in fact being cut in the face of growing demand, rising drug costs, and other charges. Spending on primary and secondary schools in England is to remain stagnant, but the school building program has been reduced.

The budget for universities and further education is being cut by 40 percent and 25 percent respectively.

One of the government's objectives is to reduce the mounting deficit and protect its ability to borrow from wealthy capitalists at home and abroad. Immediately after the cuts were announced, Fitch, the credit rating agency, reaffirmed Britain's "triple-A" rating.

Despite the turnout for the October 23 action, there continues to be little organized working-class resistance. But the ruling rich appear nervous about the future. The *Times* said Osborne's plans are "dependent on the economy picking up pace. Mr. Osborne did not fudge the numbers, but he is living, dangerously, in hope."

Australia jury acquits couple for abortion

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Australia until 2006 and access remains restricted today. Only four doctors in all of Queensland are licensed to prescribe RU486. Not aware the drugs were available in Australia, Brennan had them sent by relatives in Ukraine.

A 1969 common law decision in the state of Victoria followed by a 1971 ruling in New South Wales, broadly defined "lawful" abortions, changing medical practice across Australia. A 1986 Queensland court decision upheld these precedents. However in Queensland, as well as most other states, provisions on "unlawful" abortion were left in the criminal codes.

In recent years abortion has been decriminalized in the Australian Capital Territory, Western Australia, and Victoria, but in the latter two states new laws restricting abortions were adopted in the process.

An estimated 90,000 abortions are performed nationwide each year, including 14,000 in Queensland. Medicare, the national health insurance plan, subsidizes abortions.

The prosecution's "evidence" against Leach and Brennan included videotaped police interviews. On the tape Leach explained that she decided to have an abortion because she "wasn't ready for a child."

The jury of eight women and four men took less than one hour to unanimously find the couple not guilty.

"I think this sends a clear message that not even a jury is willing to convict on these charges," Kate Marsh, of Children by Choice, told reporters. "This is not the end, the end will be when they take the entire thing out of the criminal code."

On the street in front of the courthouse ProChoice Cairns organized daily protests. In the days leading up to the trial women's rights groups organized rallies in Perth, Adelaide, Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne demanding the abortion charges be dropped.

A recent poll published in the *Medical Journal of Australia* said that 87 percent of Australians believe abortion should be legal in the first trimester.

Afghanistan war

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led-force of some 15,000 pushed much of the Taliban out of Marjah, a small agricultural district east of Kandahar. The area is the poppy-growing center of the world and strategic source of wealth in the country.

Following a tactical retreat from Marjah, Taliban forces conducted a sustained campaign of guerrilla attacks in the area that hindered U.S. efforts to stabilize and establish control. According to recent press reports, however, U.S.-led forces have begun to make some progress toward subduing Taliban resistance and propping up a pro-U.S. local power structure.

At the same time, Taliban groups have reportedly gained strength in other parts of the country, including Uzbek and Tajik regions of the north—areas beyond the movement's Pashtun base, but where the Sunni branch of Islam also predominates.

The Afghan national army and police have proven inadequate and unreliable for Washington. To compensate the U.S. military recently announced plans to increase its target for the number of U.S.-backed private militia troops under the command of local Afghan rulers from 10,000 to at least 20,000. The project, initiated last year in central and eastern areas, remains one of several points of contention between Washington and the weak Afghan government of Hamid Karzai.

Washington's force in Afghanistan has quadrupled over the last three years to nearly 100,000. The pace and scope of military operations has accelerated, with an escalation of air attacks, ground offensives, and commando raids. Last week Defense Secretary Robert Gates ordered a second aircraft carrier off the coast of Pakistan, adding 60 more warplanes available for bombing missions over Afghanistan. Alongside this, has been a steady increase in aerial drone strikes in Pakistan, already exceeding the total strikes conducted in 2008–2009.

As Washington gets more deeply embroiled in war, enthusiasm among its NATO allies continues to wane—in part a consequence of a trend among capitalist rulers in Europe toward downsizing their military expenditures and capacity.

The British government, Washington's number one war ally, recently announced plans for a substantial reduction in its military personnel, artillery, tanks, and global footprint. British prime minister David Cameron sought to assure its U.S. allies of London's commitment in Afghanistan, currently at 10,000 troops and scheduled to end in 2015. But the announcement signals that the level of its involvement in U.S.-led wars abroad will decline.

U.S.-NATO forces have recently facilitated the movement of Taliban figures to discuss terms with the Karzai government for an eventual end to the fighting, in the hopes of identifying fissures to exploit. It is unclear who the Taliban negotiators are or how much, if any, real influence they wield. Senior Taliban spokesman Zabihullah Mujahid denied the Taliban leadership's involvement in the widely publicized efforts, saying they will not enter peace talks until 152,000 foreign troops withdraw from the country.

Reportedly not being invited to participate in the discussions is Mullah Mohammad Omar, former head of the Taliban government in Afghanistan and foremost leader of the Afghan Taliban, whom U.S. officials often describe as "irreconcilable."

Also unclear is the extent of the Pakistani government's role in the talks. Relations between Washington have been strained recently following a series of helicopter gunship attacks in Pakistan.

During Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's late October visit to Pakistan, she announced the Obama administration's proposal to Congress for an additional $2 billion in military aid as an incentive for greater cooperation against the Taliban and allied groups in Pakistan. Islamabad has not moved against Taliban groups that do not oppose the Pakistani government, and who could potentially help cement Islamabad's influence in a postwar Afghanistan.

At the same time, some 1.4 million people remain displaced by Pakistan's wars against antigovernment Taliban forces, who have begun retaking areas cleared by the Pakistani military's major offensive last year.

The Pakistani government has also not agreed to Washington's recent request to further expand special forces and CIA personnel, the *Wall Street Journal* reported October 23. According to the *Journal*, about 900 CIA personnel currently operate in Pakistan.